1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

It is also clear that within the kin group collateral lines are merged with the direct line of descent, relatives being equated in the parents' generation. Relatives more than three generations distant are designated by grandparent and grandchild terms. Finally there is little recognition of relatives by marriage. 601 602

I have failed after persistent inquiries to find any trace of special social relations or obligations between those in any two categories, other than the universal relation between parents and children and those between camp mates.[1]

Foreign Indians are sometimes adopted informally as *súldjĭgd*, a man's older brother's son, or *djĭkávigd*, a man's male cross-cousin, in preference to other relationships. Children of relatives are adopted, but do not assume new relationships. There are no friendship adoptions as at Zuñi, and no ceremonies of adoption. 597 [648]

Marriage

Marriage was normally monogamous, although there were some polygamous unions. One may not marry a blood relative. Should a couple innocently marry and someone later discover that they are related by blood, they would feel ashamed. They would not separate, but people would always condemn their union. There is no notion that monsters spring from such marriages. So much for theory. Crook had lived with Callie for about a month when the old people said that they were related, so they separated. Both have since re-married. From the chart showing the inheritance of chieftainship (p. 242) it appears that Crook's father and Callie's paternal grandmother are cross-cousins. They may be more closely connected through their mothers. My informants were aware that blood relationships are forgotten after a very few generations, and that most, if not all intratribal marriages ignored some remote and unknown degree of relationship. By checking over the agency census with Jess I find that the females, including children, he could not marry were invariably blood relatives, numbering forty-two. Mark said he could not marry thirty-eight women, four of whom were not related to him in any way and five where the recognized bond was one of affinity. For example, he said he could not marry Nina, his younger brother's wife. It turned out, however, that he would not marry one of these women, another was "too fat," and so on. I found no other hint of 588 [595] [588] [684]

[1] Specifically, there is no special relation with the maternal grandfather, as implied, e.g., in some Plateau-Basin tales. Incidentally it may be noted that in cases of matrilocal residence the maternal grandfather of the children born to a couple is the head of the family group. [592]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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595 informant stated that the wives might either be sisters or unrelated: one arrangement was as harmonious as another. But another informant denied that sisters could be plural wives. Seven households in which there were two wives were remembered, four of them belonging to men now living, and I surmise that this approaches the number existing during any one man's lifetime. These informants had heard of three wives, but had never seen such a family.

A man who wants to take a second wife consults his first wife and may abide by her decision. Of course, he does not go to live with the second wife's family, but takes her directly to his establishment. The presents given in this case would amount to about the same value as those given his first wife's parents. Both wives or all three live in a single house with their husband, even when they have large families. They might, however, have separate houses in one camp. There seems to be no difference in the treatment of the two wives. When their husband dies [768] they separate, returning to their relatives with their children. Co-wives 428 probably share equally in the inheritance, for the disposition of property seems to be influenced chiefly by the number of their children. The impression is that the heritage is really that of the children. This is [587] confirmed by the general practice, for if a widow re-marries soon, the inheritance reverts to her children; it does in any event when they are old enough to enjoy it.

595 In one plural marriage for which there is definite information Manakadja had already married Gwegwe0gwaia at the time the Paiute took up residence in the Walapai country. He sent her away and took a Paiute wife at Pine Spring. Later he brought his bride to the canyon and took Gwegwe0gwaia back, living with both of them until the Paiute woman died.

586 There is said to be no divorce, but I recorded other instances of arbitrary separation. Wa"kwanima sent his first wife away, after she had borne a son, Teikapaniga, because she was "no good." He then took two wives by whom he had a number of children, Pete, Mark, etc. (see the genealogy, p. 392.) When he died the widows returned to their relatives with their little children. These children regard each other alike as siblings, the divorce of Teikapaniga's mother makes no difference to them. In fact, Pete lived with his eldest brother before he was married. Other cases are Pagadjahuda and Supai Jack's father who separated because they were angry, and Crook's Yavapai and Roger's Walapai wives who ran off home.

586 One informant stated that a wife was not divorced even in case of 684 adultery; the husband would thrash her partner in shame with his fists,

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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but he would not attempt to kill him. He would kill the man's horses. Anybody might interfere to put a stop to this. Another informant said that the guilty woman would be beaten and divorced: her husband would keep their children. 586 684]

Divorce for barrenness had never been heard of. If a wife proved barren (*pik'iglθdatdɨj*, barren women) the husband would take a second wife in order to have children. A quarrelsome wife, one who pulls her husband's hair, bites, scratches or pinches him, destroys his property, etc., would be turned out. [595]

If a man maltreated his wife, beat and stunned her, her relatives would interfere, admonishing him to treat her well. She might retaliate by throwing away the food she cooked, or in an extreme case by running away to her parents or to another man. If a girl returns to her parents without cause, her mother would send her back. A Havasupai woman married to such a Walapai runs away every year with a different man, though the Indian police bring her back to her husband. The Havasupai consider her justified; their head chief, taking over the function of the agent, recently married her to another Walapai. However, it is generally recognized that she is a light character. 593 684

Marriages were not often contracted with foreigners. The situation today represents the condition fairly well: there are six Walapai women and one Yavapai married to Havasupai, while a few natives are wives of Walapai. Walapai women are considered the marital equivalents of native women; a view undoubtedly induced by a unity of culture, speech, blood, and by friendship. I was told that Hopi women were never married, but Cushing saw one there in 1881.[1] Occasionally Paiute and Navaho women were married.[2] Other tribes were too distant to furnish wives. Havasupai men did not steal girls from other tribes because it was too dangerous. I doubt that Yavapai women were married in the old days, because they were the chief enemies. 582 648

Walapai and Navaho girls were married when they accompanied their families down into Cataract Canyon to trade at harvest time. Such women sometimes stayed only a short time and then went home. In such marriages a Havasupai man did not live and work with his wife's parents. Alliances of this type might be casually formed, as in the following instance of a lost Navaho woman told by Sinyella. Illicit relations with Walapai, Navaho, Hopi, and Paiute were common. [439] [586] [837]

When I was so big [about fifteen years old] we were camped just a little above Lee Canyon: *many Havasupai were camped up there. We* [illegible] *my father,*

[1](a), 861.
[2]Walapai and Paiute are said to intermarry.

000 I had not been at the school long enough to acquire the needed information, it was evident that I would have to submit a report of some kind.

123 To learn the form and material embodied in such accounts, I studied the reports on file, beginning with the one drawn up in 1893 by the teacher who had established the school. He and his farmer, with the help of the Indians, had hauled the stone and put up the buildings in which we now lived. When he arrived in the canyon, after the drive from Seligman and the descent of a far more primitive trail than we had traveled, he found no shelter for himself and wife, nothing to work with, nothing to work for except the Indians, whose children he described as "wearing a [515] covering of grease, mescal juice, and filth, fearfully and wonderfully combined." After he knew them better and had recovered from the shock of that first impression, he wrote of them as "sturdy, simple mountaineers, who simply asked to be let alone." When he reported: "Death by perishing from thirst on the desert [684] is the punishment to women for promiscuous amours," I knew that the Havasupai were stark realists, daring and stoical, and I would not have a dull moment.

439 I also came across an order for one thousand eight hundred pounds of dried peaches which I must purchase from the Indians and ship to other Indian schools for use on the children's tables, and an order for twenty cords of wood to be bought and shipped.

648 I learned, too, that the superintendent must co-operate with the officials of the Grand Canyon Forest Reserve, who controlled the plateau region surrounding the small Havasupai Reservation. There were many infringements of law by the Indians, who claimed the reserve as their age-old hunting ground, and the officials made occasional trips to the school to request an investigation.

595 Among the orders was one prohibiting polygamy. The busy, contented Havasupai seemed so free from the evils afflicting the Walapai that I was convinced that no man in the tribe claimed two wives, although I knew that some of the older Walapai men 000 had two or more. These Indians apparently had no knowledge of

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

595 157 or four summers, evidently knew how to hold her own, for she once or twice refused to obey wife number one, though she readily obeyed the same request when given by Navaho personally. This woman is now married to my old host, Waluthama.

582 684 Marriage with a white man is unknown among the Havasupais, and unlawful cohabitation with one is punishable by death.

582 The question of marrying is becoming a more serious one with the Havasupais each year. While occasionally a man will marry a Wallapai squaw, there is a strong sentiment against marriage outside of the tribe. Yet the number of the tribe is so small, and intermarriage has so long been carried on between them, that it is no uncommon thing for a young man or woman to be debarred from choice in marriage. At the present time Goō-fwho's son can marry but one girl in the whole tribe without violating their own laws of consanguinity, about which no people are more particular.

622 156 The present Head Chief — Kohot — of the tribe is Man-a-ka-cha, a heavily built man, who is popular with the younger element. But he suffers much in comparison with the former Kohot, Navaho, who died in 1898.*

[142] Kohot Navaho's was a strong face, marked and furrowed with bearing the cares of his little nation. A firm chin, powerful nose, gentle mouth, courageous forehead, eyes which were once fiery as well as piercing, but of late years had little of their primitive fire, — these gave a key to his character, in which firmness, courage, bravery, and gentle tenderness were commingled. His whole demeanor was of dignity and pride. No Euro-

Learning About Sex

At least as far back as early reservation residence, and probably earlier during seasonal camping near the fields, young people of both sexes daily swam in Havasu Creek. Whether unchaperoned girls were permitted to swim together with boys prior to reservation days has not been learned, but members of each sex swam in separate groups under supervision of early school teachers. Because they were separated, both sexes swam nude. 864 834

At the present time, knowledge of intercourse may be learned from observation in the home, although parents strive for secrecy. However, it is acknowledged that, due to sleeping arrangements, children probably observe copulation at an early age. Older boys discuss their experiences in the presence of younger boys, and small children of both sexes may witness dogs and other animals in coitus, or may chance upon a couple in a clandestine rendezvous. One informant states that 30 or 40 years ago, older girls and boys would openly have intercourse in the presence of small children while pretending to the little ones that they were "playing house." 864 836 834

It may be significant in judging the former prevalence of some premarital experience that a groom made no trouble and asked no compensation if his bride were not a virgin. Spier (1928, 223) supports the view of present informants that neither a former marriage nor an illegitimate child made a girl less acceptable to a prospective groom, and this remains true today. [585]

It is reported, however, that in former times, a premarital sexual affair might lead to fighting between a girl's father and her lover, or to more serious consequences. "If a girl and boy went off together without thinking of marriage, and the girl's father thought they were sleeping together, he would shoot the boy," one informant said. While no case of an actual shooting was cited, such a threat may have been made. It is more likely, however, that an irate father, rather than shooting his daughter's lover, would shoot a horse or destroy property belonging to the youth in the traditional form of revenge permissible to the husband of an adulterous wife. The girl herself was severely chastized and sometimes beaten. However, such affairs apparently sometimes went undetected or, perhaps, were overlooked if a girl's parents had no objection to her lover, or if convention were not too openly flaunted. [604]

While public opinion was united in condemning premarital license, the weight of evidence indicates that, privately, people must have pretended ignorance that convention was being violated. [83]

It does not appear that the Havasupai have become socially or culturally disorganized or disintegrated to an extent likely to cause a breakdown in moral practices. Opler (1941, 141) suggests, in the words of an Apache informant, that young Chiricahua men could have intercourse with Comanche 182 834 836

182 834 836 girls, while they could not do so with their own Chiricahua girls because the two tribes had a basic difference in attitude toward the subject. The Apache informant thought the question had nothing to do with degeneracy or contact with white Americans, and that, as a matter of fact, the Apache tribe was the more disorganized of the two.

836 183 178 It seems reasonable to assume, in consideration of evidence at hand, that the Havasupai, once settled on the reservation, merely continued the practice of an established cultural pattern of sexual license. Reservation residence may have been a determining factor in producing a secondary change in the existing pattern, however, by affording opportunities for more frequent indulgence by each individual, and by permitting participation of a wider segment of the population in the general pattern. A change from restricted to somewhat preponderant sexual license is reflected in a similar change in public attitude toward such relations. While, formerly, public opinion rather vigorously denounced such behavior, present sentiment is milder in tone and less concerted in denunciation. This relative mildness of public censure apparently leaves members of the present younger generation undaunted in their preoccupation with sexual affairs.

834 864 Parents attempt to keep girls in ignorance of sexual relations until a later age than they do boys. When a girl acquires information on the subject, her parents attempt to frighten her from experimentation by telling her she will become pregnant.

834 684 It was not learned whether small boys and girls experiment with each other, but in 1952 it was reliably reported by two informants, one of whom was a witness, that a young man of 21 attempted to have intercourse with a cooperative little girl of seven. In the investigator's presence, about 10 minutes after it occurred, this episode was reported by a witness to a group of six or eight adults assembled to begin their afternoon gambling. In his absence the young man was publicly berated by the group which continued to gather. The youth in question, wayward, aggressive, and frequently in trouble for theft and other offenses, seems to be feared by many of his fellow tribesmen who report that he carries a knife and has threatened to use it on at least one occasion. When his father and uncle, who were among the [626] gamblers, were told that they "ought to do something about him" both replied that they had chastised him verbally but in vain, and they were afraid to beat him because he would fight back.

834 964 Apparently, many girls are now initiated into sexual experience near the time they reach puberty, their instructors probably being boys several years their senior. It is said that if a boy and girl are seen merely talking together on a trail, they are assumed to be having intimate relations in secret.

571 834 Girls usually go about in pairs or in groups of three or four. Their demeanor customarily is shy and reserved, particularly in the presence of

boys and young men, or in a group of adults. Occasionally a boy may halt his horse on a trail to talk with two or three girls. Reportedly, it is assumed by any observer that the boy is carrying on an affair with one of them. 571 834

One informant stated that those girls who reach puberty before they are 13 years old, start menstruating as a result of having had intercourse with a boy. If this occurs, either or both of the girl's parents may beat her, but it is said that "today they don't beat her as hard as they used to." On the other hand, a boy is not beaten, but parents reprimand him for his part in the affair. Another informant denied that menstruation results from intercourse but verified that a girl's parents may beat her if they hear of her behavior. 841 834 684 827

Incidents of so-called rape involving teenage boys and girls occur occasionally, the participants often being a pair of boys and a pair of girls. Girls may loiter in appropriate places when returning home from a public activity after dark, and their protests are considered feigned when they are overpowered by the young men. Some parents make an effort to prevent their daughters from sexual involvement by escorting them home whenever possible. 684 834

One girl of 17 confided to me that she had been "out" with a particular boy on a certain night. "All girls have boy friends," she said. "A boy visits a girl's camp during the day pretending not to notice her, but they meet somewhere else at night. Each girl goes with a particular boy instead of changing around very often." A couple publicly known to have participated in an occurrence of "rape" four years ago, when the girl was 14 and the boy 18, later married.

Evidence indicates that virtually the entire male population keeps an eye on the young girls as they mature. Each year, one or two girls are considered the most pleasing in face and form. There is little doubt that the unofficial "Miss Havasupai" is under more than usual pressure from the male population. One such girl, following her initial popularity, is now labeled by at least part of her fellow tribesmen as a prostitute. It was reported that she caters to Indians and others in a nearby white community where she lives alone. 832 [548]

Behavior during Courting

At the present time, teenage individuals and young adults of both sexes flock to favorite swimming holes in the creek each afternoon. There, young couples may be seen privately conversing or enjoying water games together. Opportunity thus exists for them to arrange a rendezvous and to slip away separately during the afternoon, or to meet at another time. 584 834

It was noted that certain couples who engaged in conversation at the swimming hole in the absence of their elders, were ones reportedly carry-

(4) sexual abuse of a small boy by an older male (only one case reported); (5) incest; and (6) rape. However, verbal reprimands usually represent the only attempt either to control or to punish the offenders. Public action is seldom taken, the only examples reported being ones in which pressure by whites probably was responsible for measures taken. 626 183

As noted earlier, even in the sexual initiation of a seven-year-old girl, public sentiment was but mildly and only temporarily aroused. Parents of the child made no issue and, reportedly, said nothing to the offending youth or to his family. In the case of an assault upon a boy of six or seven in which the aggressor inflicted painful injury upon his victim, the subject was never publicly discussed by the parents and no action was taken. The victim's parents nursed their anger in private, but his maternal grandfather, upon a later difference of opinion with the father of the little boy's attacker, tried to pick a fight. An informant reported that the grandfather "would not have acted that way but he was still kind of mad about what happened to his grandson." The offender went unpunished unless his father privately rebuked him. 684 626

Adverse public opinion expressed in gossip and, occasionally, in group discussions is apparently the severest sanction applied against an offender in any of the six categories listed above.

Illegitimate Births

It is said that very few illegitimate children were born in former times. Leslie Spier, noting in a personal communication that he reported the rarity of illegitimate births (1928, p. 300), suggests "it may well have been that because of the shortage of women between 20 and 45 the girls were snapped up as wives as soon as they were nubile." 840

In 1953, six unmarried girls and women had borne a total of 11 babies (living and deceased), and two girls were expectant mothers. These eight were from 18 to 31 years old. The earliest age at which one of them became a mother was 14 years. Among married women, 11 mothers had borne a total of 18 babies (living and deceased) conceived before marriage or between marriages. (The number of women probably is larger, but no attempt was made to record all such cases.) These women were from 18 to 88 years of age. Three of them had married the men popularly believed, or privately acknowledged, to be the fathers of their offspring. Of a total of 52 Havasupai women, either married or widowed, at least 11 or approximately 1/5 of their number had borne illegitimate children. In a total of 24 girls 14 years of age or older (14 being the age of the youngest mother), eight, or 1/3, had borne one or more illegitimate children.

A girl's prestige suffers when she bears a child out of wedlock. For a time she becomes a subject of gossip. It is said that she is "bad," and her 848 554 626

591 a small percentage of those now living independently will ever return to the
428 reservation. The small acreage which each of them would inherit makes a mass return prohibitive, for they could not then live up to their present economic standard.

Divorce

586 Informants assert that in former times there were few divorces. Spier (1928, 224) reported that informants denied the practice, but he noted several examples of separations. Records of former generations collected at the present time show a number of divorces which may have been separations following trial marriages.

586 Formerly, divorce was proclaimed on a public occasion (such as at a
578 gambling session) when each party stated his or her side of the case. Al-
627 though this formality is now seldom carried out, an example was observed at the harvest celebration in 1951 when a shaman wished to divorce his Walapai wife after several years of marriage marked by other disputes and separations.

About noon when the group was assembling for dinner, the shaman stated his charges at some length, saying he wanted his wife to leave but that she refused. That night at the round dance, his wife made a brief statement that she did not wish to leave him but that he was making her do so. The following day she left Supai. (About a year later this couple was reunited, but eventually separated again.)

This was in no sense merely a public quarrel. Both husband and wife were present on both occasions but neither replied to the other, and all spectators kept their own counsel.

Adultery and Divorce

586 The reason for divorce in former times usually was adultery. It was
837 almost always the man who left his wife, either because she was the of-
684 fender, or because he preferred another woman. Usually a husband cut the hair of his adulterous wife two or three inches from her head, and beat her as well. Then he killed a horse belonging to his rival or beat the man up. One informant added, "If the other man didn't say anything back to the husband about the dead horse, then it could be forgotten, and sometime they could be friends again."

If a woman learned that her husband had been engaged in an affair with another woman, she would be angry and might leave. She would stay with her relatives or friends for awhile, then would return. Sometimes the relatives would force her to return although they knew her husband was at

fault. "If there was a wise man, he might talk to the man and woman, especially to the man, and tell him not to do that any more. A wise man was usually an older man related to the wife--or it might be an older woman instead." 586 837 684

Sometimes a couple separated for several years and then remarried. [587]

It is said that in a divorce, regardless of who was at fault, the wife almost always kept small children and girls, while older boys might also stay with her to help. A father usually continued contributing something to the support of his children by giving them food and making their clothing. The maternal grandfather was expected to take primary responsibility for the children, however, and the paternal grandfather usually helped if he could. Occasionally, the children's father did nothing for them. 586

Today divorce is most frequently attributed to adultery, and it is often the husband who leaves an erring wife. However, if a wife is having an affair with another man, she may initiate a separation to continue her affair unopposed or to marry her lover. If a man is the offender, his wife usually berates him, but few women leave a husband for this reason. Occasionally, a short separation takes place until the wife puts aside her resentment.

In two recent divorces in which the wife was the offender, the wife clearly has custody of the children and the husband probably gives them some help financially. In both examples, the children visit their fathers for short periods. The paternal grandmother, in one instance, has custody of the youngest child who was her favorite; it is the grandmother rather than the father who has custody. The children in both families were separated among various relatives at the time of the divorce but joined their mother as soon as she remarried.

Divorce for Barrenness

Although Spier (1928, 225) reports that divorce for barrenness was unheard of, at least two divorces in the last decade have been attributed to this. When one of the barren women married again, her second husband left her for the same reason, "married" a Walapai woman one winter, but returned to his Havasupai wife the next summer. The couple has been separated several times. Probably further research would reveal similar cases in the recent past. 586 842

Spier (1928, 225) notes that if a wife were barren, a man took a second woman to have children. A case supporting Spier's statement exists today, although the practice of polygyny officially ceased long ago. This case, noted previously, was of uncertain status for some time. An unmarried girl bore a man several children while the latter was living with his barren wife. Then for a time, it was said that the married couple was divorced. 586 595 842